

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4353

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1628

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PO, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH VIEWS ON PORTUGAL

1. SUMMARY. DURING CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON, I DISCUSSED CURRENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, I SAID USG FLATLY REJECTS ALLEGATIONS THAT IT WAS INVOLVED IN MARCH 11 ABORTIVE COUP OR THAT IT HAS CONNECTION WITH SO-CALLED PORTUGUESE LIBERATION ARMY. ANDERSSON SAID GOS IS CONVINCED THAT USG HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH COUP, AND IN FACT HAS DOUBTS ABOUT GENUINENESS OF COUP. ACCORDING TO GOS SOURCES IN PORTUGAL, SOCIALISTS AND PPD SHOULD POLL AT LEAST 30 PERCENT OF VOTE EACH IN FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS, WITH COMMUNISTS GARNERING ABOUT 20 PERCENT. ANDERSSON SAID GOS, ON ADVISE OF SOARES DEPUTY, HAD DECLINED TO JOIN CERTAIN WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS IN DEMARCHES TO GOP REGARDING ITS LEFTIST DIRECTION. HE CITED DANISH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON AS REPORTING CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES THAT GOP WILL  
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NOT REPEAT NOT SEVER ITS TIES WITH NATO. I TOLD

ANDERSSON USG IS PLEASED AT GOS EFFORTS TO ASSIST DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN PORTUGAL AND SAID USG WELCOMES SOARES' TIES WITH WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES. ANDERSSON NOTED THAT SWEDISH SOCIALIST TIES WITH SOARES DATE FROM PERIOD HE WAS IN EXILE IN PARIS. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING MY DISCUSSION OF VIETNAM WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON (SEPTTEL), I ASKED FOREIGN MINISTER FOR GOS VIEWS ON CURRENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL. I QUOTED SECRETARY'S REFERENCE TO PORTUGAL AT HIS MARCH 26 PRESS CONFERENCE AS INDICATING OUR CONCERN ABOUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL INCLUDING THE BANNING OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY (PDC) AS WELL AS THE EFFORT TO LABEL NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES SUCH AS THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS AND THE CENTER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS "REACTIONARY ELEMENTS." I SAID THAT USG FLATLY REJECTS ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE WAS U.S. ROLE IN THE MARCH 11 ABBORTIVE COUP AS WELL AS AN ALLEGED U.S. CONNECTION WITH SO-CALLED "PORTUGUESE LIBERATION ARMY" AND I NOTED THE STATEMENT OF PORTUGUESE SOCIAL COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER CATEGORICALLY REFUTING CHARGES THAT THE CIA HAS ASSISTED THE PLA.

3. WITHOUT HESITATION, ANDERSSON REPLIED THAT THE GOS "IS CONVINCED THAT USG HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE COUP." IN FACT, ANDERSSON CONTINUED, THE GOS ASKED ITSELF IF THERE REALLY WAS A COUP, SINCE IT HAD FIT "TOO PERFECTLY" INTO THE EXTREME LEFT'S PURPOSES OF DISCREDITING THE MODERATES. HE NOTED THAT COMMERCE MINISTER FELDT HAD BEEN IN LISBON WHEN THE COUP TOOK PLACE, CONSULTING WITH MEMBERS OF THE GOP, AND THEY HAD REMAINED COMPLETELY CALM WHILE THE ATTEMPTED "COUP" TOOK PLACE OUTSIDE. THESE CONSIDERATIONS, AND THE FACT THAT THERE WAS ALMOST NO BLOODSHED INVOLVED, RAISED A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE COUP WAS A REAL ONE, ANDERSSON ADDED.

4. POINTING OUT THAT HIS INFORMATION COMES FROM SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) LEADER SOARES AND HIS ENTOURAGE, ANDERSSON SAID THE GOS SEES PORTUGUESE SITUATION AS FOLLOWS: THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (MFA) HAS GUARANTEED THAT ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD, AND PARTIES NOT BANNED WILL

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BE ALLOWED TO CAMPAIGN. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS, THE 3 PARTIES --THE COMMUNISTS, THE SOCIALISTS AND THE PPD -- WILL CONTINUE IN THE CABINET. THIS IS AN AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN ADVANCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND THE MFA, ANDERSSON SAID. IN THE ELECTIONS HE ESTIMATED THAT THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD POLL AROUND 20 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, AND THE PS AND PPD SOMEWHAT MORE THAN 30 PERCENT EACH. ANDERSSON ADDED THAT THE

MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SEEMED TO HOLD EITHER SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIES, EVEN IF THEY DO NOT BELONG FORMALLY TO THESE PARTIES. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT OF THE "STALINIST OR MAOIST" TYPE. WHEN I ASKED IF HE INCLUDED COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL ALVARO CUNHAL IN THIS STATEMENT, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CUNHAL IS A "STALINIST."

5. CONINUING, ANDERSSON SAID MOST RECENT CABLE THE GOS HAD RECEIVED FROM LISBON REPORTED THAT "SOME WESTERN GOVERNMENTS" HAD MADE DEMARCHES TO GOP EXPRESSING CONCERN AT THE LEFTWARD TREND OF ITS POLICY, AND THAT GOP HAD BEEN "IRRITATED" BY THIS INTERVENTION BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WHICH IT CONSIDERED A FORM OF PRESSURE AGAINST ITSELF. WHEN I COMMENTED THAT DEMARCHES OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WOULD ONLY INDICATE A NATURAL CONCERN ABOUT A FELLOW NATO ALLY, ANDERSSON REPLIED THAT UNFORTUNATELY, THE FACT OF THESE DEMARCHES HAD BECOME KNOWN AND HAD BEEN INTRODUCED INTO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ANDERSSON SAID THAT WEST GERMAN SOCIALISTS HAD ASKED SWEDES IF THEY WOULD ALSO LIKE TO

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MAKE DEMARCHES ALONG THESE LINES. GOS CHECKED WITH SOARES' DEPUTY (THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS) AND HE ADVISED AGAINST SUCH A SWEDISH MOVE.

6. ACCORDING TO ANDERSSON THE DANISH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON (WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS EXTREMELY WELL-INFORMED) REPORTED THAT HE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES THAT GOP DOES NOT REPEAT NOT WANT TO SEVER LINK WITH NATO. HOWEVER, ANDERSSON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOARES IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POWER OF THE MFA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND IS WORRIED ABOUT THEIR ULTIMATE INTENTIONS. SOARES IS AWARE THAT THE MFA MEMBERS ARE OPPOSED TO ALL PARTIES TO THE RIGHT OF THE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS, AND HE HAD TO FIGHT TO KEEP THE PPD IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ANDERSSON NOTED THAT SWEDEN CURRENTLY HAS A HIGH-LEVEL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION IN PORTUGAL CONSULTING WITH PS OFFICIALS (STOCKHOLM 1487).  
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HE EMPHASIZED THAT GOS HAS NOT REPEAT NO CONTACT WITH COMMUNIST PARTY.

7. I ASKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHERE HE THINKS THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT IS HEADING. HE REPLIED THAT WHILE HE THINKS THERE CERTAINLY WILL BE ELECTIONS, THE MILITARY FORCES WILL HAVE A DOMINATING POSITION FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. WHILE THE PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT WILL FIGHT TO INCREASE THEIR STRENGTH, THE REAL POWER WILL REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF THE MFA. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID HE IS CONVINCED THE COMMUNISTS WILL NOT TAKE OVER BECAUSE PORTUGAL IS SO DEPENDENT ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND INVESTMENT FROM THE WEST. I POINTED OUT IN THIS CONNECTION THE SUPPORT OF THE USG FOR THE ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION AS INDICATED BY OUR \$25 MILLION PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL AND ITS PRESENT AND FORMER AFRICAN TERRITORIES, AS WELL AS THE \$20 MILLION LOW COST HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEE.

8. ANDERSSON REFERRED TO RECENT VISIT TO STOCKHOLM OF PORTUGUESE LABOR MINISTER COSTA MARTINS (STOCKHOLM 1408), ANDERSSON DESCRIBED MARTINS AS A YOUNG MILITARY OFFICER WHO HAD NEVER BEEN OUTSIDE PORTUGAL IN THE PAST (ALTHOUGH I INTERJECTED THAT HE HAS SINCE BEEN TO MOSCOW). MARTINS TOLD SWEDES THAT PORTUGUESE PEOPLE ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY POLITICALLY MATURE TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS, WHICH THEY VIEW "AS COMPETITION

BETWEEN OPPOSING SOCCER TEAMS."

9. I TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE USG IS PLEASED AT THE GOS EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN PORTUGAL. I SAID WE ARE WELL AWARE OF THE CLOSE CONNECTIONS THAT THE GOS HAD WITH PORTUGAL AND ITS CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF THAT COUNTRY. I ADDED THAT WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT SOARES HAS CLOSE TIES WITH SWEDEN AND OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES, SUCH AS THE WEST GERMAN AND DUTCH. ANDERSSON REPLIED THAT THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE HAD CLOSE TIES WITH SOARES FOR MANY YEARS, INCLUDING THE YEARS HE WAS IN PARIS AS A REFUGEE.

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10. COMMENT: WHILE OTHER GOS LEADERS HAVE INDICATED TO ME THEIR SUSPICIONS THAT THE MARCH 11 COUP WAS, AT THE VERY LEAST, ENCOURAGED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND OTHER LEFTISTS IN THE MFA, ANDERSSON'S REMARKS CONSTITUTE THE MOST DIRECT COMMENT YET BY A SENIOR GOS OFFICIAL QUESTIONING THE GENUINNESS OF THE COUP.  
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